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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
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COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XIV.]

JUNE, 1838.

[No. 6.

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

THE ship Emperor arrived on Sunday, 17th June, at New York, after the remarkably short passage of 23 days from Liberia. Among the passengers are the Rev. John Seys and family, from Monrovia; Gov. Matthias from Bassa Cove; Dr. Skinner, Principal Colonial Physician of the Parent Society; Messrs. Thomas J. Savage, William Mylne, William C. Waters, and S. L. Blodgett.

Dr. Skinner has been induced to return to the U. States, chiefly by the state of his health. On his passage out, last November, he had an attack of fever, which was followed, after his arrival, by several successive attacks of the same sort, and a general deranged action in his system. It is hoped that the return of this valuable friend of Africa to his native country, will be the means of restoring his health.

The Emperor brought several communications from the Colony, the principal of which is a letter from Lieut. Governor Williams, dated Monrovia, 8th May, 1838. We copy the following extracts:

I regret to have to inform you that we have been recently reduced to the necessity of sending an armed force to Little Bassa, to enforce the fulfilment of an agreement which the Chiefs and Headmen of that country have entered into with this Colony. An effort, as you have been long since informed, was made to purchase that territory, which from opposition on the part of some of the Headmen did not succeed. The Commissioner, E. Johnson, was also charged to make arrangements with the Chiefs of the country, relative to the payment of the debts due by the natives of that section of the country to our people. Mr. Johnson was further charged to demand restitution of property belonging to the agency, which had been forcibly seized by the natives when on its way from this place to Edina. The payment of the debts and the restitution of the property, the natives readily agreed to, and for the faithful performance in four months pledged the country. As there is no disposition to avail of any advantage which the weakness and pecuniary embarrassments of the country people may present, the matter was allowed to rest thus far, eighteen months, when commissioners were again sent down to conclude the business. And in order to impress them with a

conviction of the most just and honorable intentions on the part of the Colonial authorities, the commissioners were instructed to attempt a purchase of the land for a just consideration, of which the debts should be a part, and to obtain a deed in fee simple. The result of this commission clearly manifested, not only a determination not to sell the land, but also an intention to evade the payment of the debts. Two months subsequently to this, other commissioners were sent, instructed to make every exertion to conclude the matter amicably,—but this, so far from arriving at any satisfactory termination, served only to manifest the most hostile feelings on the part of the natives. Such equivocations and shameless disregard of all agreements, the character and well-being of the colony forbade me to pass without a prompt and decided expression of disapprobation. Accordingly on the of April, I despatched other commissioners, accompanied by an armed escort of seventy men, under the command of Col. J. J. Roberts, to renew the endeavor of an amicable adjustment and in the event of failing to do so, to take forcible and formal possession of the country in the name and behalf of the A. C. Society. On the arrival of the commissioners at Bassa they were for eight days amused by the same course of equivocation and evasion, which in this whole affair had marked the conduct of the natives, and on the eighth day they took formal possession in the name, and on behalf of the American Colonization Society, in right of the agreement, entered into by the natives in relation to the debts. With regard to the justness of the method in which possession of the country has been at length acquired, there can be no question. The land had been forfeited eighteen months anterior to this event, by an agreement entered into by the Chiefs and Headmen in solemn palaver. The only object in treating thus with them, was to prevent any future impression, if possible, that it had forcibly been taken away from them. After the matter had proceeded to some lengths, and demands had been made by this Government, there was no alternative. To suffer them to equivocate, and to violate every agreement, would have been interpreted by them to be weakness on our part, and have certainly led to insult and aggression. I can conceive no event that can more clearly demonstrate the high character which we hold in the estimation of the natives, than the fact, that as soon as they became convinced of a determination on the part of the Americans to enforce an observance of their agreement, they prepared to retire from the country. Fear, and fear alone prevented them in the last instance, from meeting the commissioners. Conscious of the unjustness of their own intentions, and of the impropriety of their own past conduct, no assurances of friendly dispositions could lull their suspicions so far as to place themselves in the power of the Americans. When it is considered how important an acquisition this is to the actual territory of the Colony; and further, that attempts (which were about to be renewed) have been made by foreigners, to purchase it, it will, I trust, be regarded by the Board as fully justifying the cost of the last expedition and of the former commission.*

* NOTE. It may be proper to state that on receiving Lieut. Gov. Williams' despatch, the Board of Managers directed an inquiry to be instituted into all the facts and circumstances bearing on this transaction, the result of which inquiry, and the final action of the Board on the subject, will be made known hereafter.—ED. AF. REP.

This territory presents a prominent location for a commercial settlement, and as soon as the Board may think their funds will justify its occupancy, I think it would be advisable to do so. In the event of forming a settlement there, it would be necessary to be prepared against any attack from the natives. The Bassa people have all the treachery and dishonesty of the other adjoining tribes, and much greater numerical strength, and more personal bravery. A portion of the Dey country, lying on the north of the St. Paul's, and of which the Board had ordered a purchase to be made, has also fallen into the hands of the colony. A shocking murder and destruction of property, was committed in that country on the person and property of an American settler, David Logan. This outrage, though committed by Mandingoes, and with whom in the affair, the Deys had probably no connexion, was of too gross and daring nature to be passed unnoticed. A palaver of the chiefs and head men was called at King Willey's in that country, and satisfaction demanded. They protested innocence, and declared they were ignorant of the affair only from report. They were, however, reminded that it was a gross violation of a compact subsisting between them and the colony, by which they are bound to extend protection to all Americans in their territory, not only from the violation and imposition of their own people, but from all others, and further, that all matters of dispute in which Americans are parties, shall be referred to the Cape for adjudication. They were required to refund the amount of property destroyed and to deliver up the murderers; all to be performed within six months, which they readily agreed to, and pledged a portion of their country as security. We have every evidence, that at the time they hypothecated the land, they had very little of either intention or desire to perform the stipulations. They were willing to settle the matter, by ceding a portion of their land. Severer terms we did not feel justified in imposing, and less severe, we did not think would secure respect for the lives and property of our people. The land pledged commences on the north side of the St. Paul's, about one mile from the embouchure, and runs five miles along the margin of the river in the direction of Millsburg, and extends five miles into the interior, and as the river here is very little sinuous, is an extent of nearly five square miles. A question will arise on the acquisition of this land, whether, in the event of a purchase, what would be considered a fair equivalent, is not due to the creditors of Logan. He was extensively in debt, and his estate is largely insolvent. As I have but little experience in such nice national questions, I shall leave this question to the decision of the Board.

We have recently received very cheering intimations of a speedy termination of the wars, that have for a long time raged among the natives in our vicinity. A deputation was sent to the Colony requesting our mediation, to which we promptly responded. The spirit manifested by the hostile parties in the palaver which was held in the Dey country, is represented by the commissioners to be of the most promising character. This meeting was however only preliminary to a more general one to be held as soon as notice shall have been given to all the great men—far and near. Though we have cause to congratulate ourselves on the results of all our late negotiations with our heathen neighbors, events have arisen to impress us deeply with a sense of our want of means

to assume that high and commanding attitude, which would secure and maintain a firm and lasting peace among the natives, and universally subserve the interests of the colony. We have no grounds for the belief, that in their recent attempts to effect a reconciliation they were any more under the influence of principles really pacific, than they were in the height of their career of robbery and murder. They had no alternative. In chasing or being chased, they have lost all the means (either offensive or defensive) of farther warfare, except what is supplied in agility of foot. As soon as their means are in any degree replenished (which for their mode of warfare are never extensive) they will be ready on the first frivolous provocation, which the slave trade will not be very long in supplying, to commence anew their predatory operations. The interests of the colony must languish, while it is surrounded by the rage of confusion and war. And nothing will more speedily and effectually advance these interests than such a good understanding and friendly relations among the natives, as would secure to all persons, from all parts of the country, a free and unmolested egress and regress. In such an event, trade would revive, and internal improvement of every species would again progress. This is manifest from the large caravans of ivory and cattle traders, that have already, since the cessation of hostilities, visited us for the purpose of trade.

The agricultural interests of the colony still advance. The spirit which the scarcity of the two former years inspired, is yet on the increase, and will, I trust, exert a most salutary bearing on the destinies of the colony. The southern banks of the St. Paul's, are fast losing their wild and uncultivated appearance, and assuming the pleasing features of civilized improvement. I have to regret that the sugar mill which the Board was requested to forward, has not arrived. The consequence will be the loss of about six acres of sugar cane, which those acquainted with the cultivation of the article, pronounce of an excellent quality.—In order to save it, as I was very anxious to make an experiment with it, I endeavored to have a temporary mill made here; but in this I have also failed. We have but one man in the colony acquainted with such machinery, and I am sorry to say he is in the last stage of an incurable disease. I have thought it would excite a fresh interest in America, to have advertised in some of the papers *a few barrels of Liberia sugar*. Hoping that the Society will remain unabated in the success of their agricultural experiment, I shall, under the expectation of receiving all necessary apparatus for grinding cane, and boiling juice, proceed, as soon as the proper season arrives, to put in a few acres more. A large quantity of cassada and potatoes is weekly furnished the emigrants from the farm. The scarcity of rice, this season is greater than in any preceding one since the settlement of the colony. The number of slaves on the windward coast is perhaps greater than at any former period, and to supply their slaves, they have purchased at an enormous price, all the rice that could be procured. I shall be under the necessity of purchasing a little at the present advanced prices.

The tobacco which was sent out in the Emperor, and to which I made a brief reference in a former communication, has proved a serious detriment in the operations of the agency. It is almost entirely valueless—scarcely worth store room. I have called a survey on it, which I

enclose, and have sold it at auction. I bought in 5 hhds. at $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound; the rest was purchased by different persons. Nearly one-third of the white domestic cotton that came in the same ship was entirely ruined. It appears to have been placed some where in the ship where the water got to it.

The officers of the colony have joined in a request for two 4-pounder brass guns, mounted on wagon wheels. Though we are in no present apprehension of any disturbance from the natives, yet we are convinced that the best way to prevent certainly such an occurrence, is at all times to exhibit an ability to render an attempt of the kind altogether abortive. We have only one pair of bullet moulds in the colony, and are also destitute of lead. It is desirable to have a better supply of both of these articles. Ready made weeding hoes are also very much wanted, as also, iron of a good quality, with which to make them.

Of the emigrants by the Emperor, ten have died, including one drowned; of these, a number were infants, and old and infirm persons; the rest are doing well. I have, however, serious apprehensions, that they will suffer severely the ensuing rains, from a complaint that always proves troublesome, and frequently fatal. I mean a dysentery affection, the consequence of constant diet of cassada and potatoes. I have no other bread stuff that I can give them.

I regret to say our neighbors of Bassa Cove and Edina seem to entertain the most hostile feelings towards the *old colony*, and every thing connected with it. They have manifested a disposition to annoy and repudiate, which if continued will lead to serious difficulties between the settlements. The policy which the Colonizationists of America, are now pursuing, is assuredly a bad one, and will inevitably defeat the object they aim to accomplish. Nothing can be conceived more destructive to the general good, than separate and conflicting interests among the different colonies. And this consequence will certainly follow the establishment of separate and distinct sovereignties contiguous to each other. If societies must file off, and have separate establishments, their very existence depends upon their union by some general and well understood relations. They might be so far separate, as to have peculiar local and internal regulations, but they should be controlled by general laws and general supervision, and be so connected as to move on to one object in harmonious operations.

Green Hoskin, a citizen of this colony, and resident of this town, was some time in the month of March, charged by some of the inhabitants of Edina, with selling a slave, at New Sess, a place about 12 miles South of Bassa Cove. On his way home from New Sess, he was attempted to be apprehended, by the authorities of Grand Bassa.—He contrived to elude them and reached little Bassa. A few days afterwards he was pursued by a constable, and carried to Bassa Cove. He had, a few days before his arrest, been severely wounded by natives who were either instigated to the deed, or from what they had heard at Edina, supposed they could murder him with impunity. Immediately the news reached me, I despatched a letter to Gov. Matthias, disclaiming his authority, upon his own interpretation of the relations of the colonies, and the extent of the jurisdiction of this. Anxious, however, not to pass by a crime of so heinous a nature as that charged

upon said Green, while I denied the existence of any authority in Bassa Cove or Edina, to arrest him out of their actual jurisdiction; I requested the Governor, should there appear sufficient ground for a trial, to detain him prisoner, until I could have him brought to this place. A few days afterwards, Messrs J. J. Roberts, L. Ciples and H. Teage, were sent to Bassa, to collect all the particulars and evidence in regard to the case and to bring the prisoner home for trial. An intense desire to convict the prisoner was clearly manifested by the good people of these settlements, who, for this purpose exerted themselves to obtain information, but the enclosed is all the evidence that the magistrates, together with the assistance of the Governor, could procure. I have forwarded you the depositions, taken at my request at Edina, in order that you may not be confounded on the subject, should representations be made relative to the subject. Upon this evidence, which is all furnished by his accusers, Green was put upon his trial here and acquitted.

COLONIZATION MEETINGS IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

A public meeting of the friends of the American Colonization Society was held on the evening of the 8th instant, in the First Presbyterian Church, (the Rev. Mr. McLain's) when Elisha Whittlesey, M. C., was called to preside, and the Rev. Mason Noble appointed Secretary.

The Chairman stated briefly the object of the meeting, and the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, offered a few remarks expressive of the great importance of securing more general and efficient aid to the cause.

James Garland, M. C., of Virginia, then addressed the meeting, and urged with great earnestness and power the claims of the Society, especially to the united and vigorous support of the whole South.

Francis S. Key, Esq., in a very eloquent speech, advocated renewed and more liberal exertions in behalf of the Society, concurred with Mr. Garland in regard to the importance of the cause to the South, and showed its most benevolent influence upon the character and hopes of the colored race.

The Rev. Mr. Hawley moved that when the meeting adjourned it should adjourn to meet in the same place on Monday evening; and,

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Laurie, the meeting was adjourned to Monday, the 11th instant, at half-past 7 o'clock.

On Monday evening, the 11th instant, the adjourned meeting was held, and, at the request of the Chairman, the Rev. Mr. McLain implored the Divine blessing.

George H. Dunn, M. C., of Indiana, then rose, and submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the cause of African Colonization is one of the greatest and best which ever appealed for support to the reason, the patriotism, and practical benevolence of the People of the United States.

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the churches of all denomina-

tions throughout the Union to take up collections annually, on or about the fourth of July for the benefit of this Society.

Resolved, That, in the cause of this Society, union of sentiment and harmony of action is of great importance to success, and that the Parent Society should, in the view of this meeting, be sustained by all friends of the cause as the great means of unity and energy in their operations both in this country and Africa.

These resolutions were sustained by the mover with great ability, and the strongest reasons were exhibited why the nation should come forward with generous contributions to the cause. It was urged that the friends of the cause in Congress could secure public meetings in their respective districts, and thus a new interest be, in the course of a few months, excited throughout the Union in behalf of the Society.

Charles F. Mercer, M. C., and Samuel L. Southard, M. C., then addressed the meeting, and aroused a strong feeling in favor of the cause, by their arguments and eloquence.

The Rev. Mr. Noble stated that in his view now was the time to give an impulse to the cause, and to obtain the co-operation of our citizens. He had been so impressed with the necessity of immediate and earnest efforts, that on Sabbath evening he had preached to his people on the subject, and he was happy to say one of his elders had pledged himself to give one hundred dollars, and he (Mr. Noble) felt authorized to pledge another hundred dollars from his congregation, on condition the sum of \$2000 could be raised for the institution in a month, in this city.

Three other gentlemen (two of them strangers) made very interesting and animating remarks, when the meeting adjourned to meet in the same place on Wednesday evening, the 13th instant.

At an adjourned meeting of the friends of the Colonization Society, on Wednesday evening, the 13th instant, Henry Johnson, M. C., of Louisiana, was called to the chair, and (the former Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Noble, being unwell,) Mr. Gurley was requested to act as Secretary.

The resolutions of George H. Dunn, M. C., submitted at the last meeting, being called up,

James Hoban, Esq., defended them eloquently in an address, and they were unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Mr. Gurley, offered a few remarks, and moved the following resolutions :

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, every friend of the Society in the United States, should now exert his best powers, with the utmost zeal for the advancement of its great cause.

Resolved, That the plan of this Society commends itself especially to the earnest and most generous support of the churches of all denominations, as opening a wide and effectual door for the introduction of christianity into Africa.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the board of Managers of this Society to address a Circular Letter to the Clergy of all denominations throughout the Union, inviting them to present its claims to the consideration of their respective congregations, and to ask their contributions in its behalf.

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the friends of the cause to organize themselves into Societies auxiliary to the Parent Institution.

Resolved, That the Members of Congress friendly to the object of this Society, be earnestly requested, on their return to their respective homes, to call the attention of their constituents to the wants, success, and prospects of the Institution, and invite them to co-operate in the great enterprise in which it is engaged.

The Rev. Mr. McLain urged powerfully the necessity of action, of

increased liberality to the Society, and while he approved of the resolutions just offered, moved that the following be added :

Resolved, That an immediate effort be made to raise, in this city, \$2000 for the Society.

Mr. Caldwell of Franklin, Ohio, made some impressive remarks, on the great advantages of the scheme to free colored men, and spoke of some instances in which he had known such persons acquire property and some respectability even in this country. How much greater, he argued, must be their opportunities and encouragements in Liberia.

The Rev. Mr. Noble expressed decidedly the opinion, that *now* was the time for effort in behalf of the cause, and moved that a committee of twelve persons be appointed to visit the different Wards of the City, and solicit donations, in order to carry the preceding resolution into effect. This motion was adopted; and the following is the committee, viz:

<i>For the First Ward.</i>	<i>For the Second Ward.</i>	<i>For the Third Ward.</i>
Col. J. L. Edwards,	David Munro,	Darius Clagett,
Col. G. Bomford.	John McClellan.	A. Preston.
<i>For the Fourth Ward.</i>	<i>For the Fifth Ward.</i>	<i>For the Sixth Ward.</i>
John P. Ingle,	Thomas Blagden,	Capt. M. Dove,
John Adams.	James Byington,	Wm. M. Ellis,

On motion of Mr. Noble, it was

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Managers and friends of the Society, to endeavor to raise for its object, in the next six months, \$100,000.

It was suggested that if every citizen of Washington would but contribute a *single dollar*, or even if every professed Christian would give that sum, the amount proposed would be obtained with ease. The wealthy might still give their hundreds.

The Rev. Dr. Laurie stated that a respected member of his Church had expressed a deep interest in the object of the Society, and was prepared to emancipate a very valuable servant man, a carpenter, and permit him to go to Liberia. Dr. Laurie understood this servant man would emigrate to that country.

Many hearts were evidently animated with a noble spirit of generosity towards the cause. Let this spirit but pervade the Church and Nation and the effect must be incalculably beneficial to the entire colored race of this country and Africa.

The meeting then adjourned, again to assemble on the evening of the 29th instant, in the same place, to receive the Report of the Committee.

RESOLUTIONS OF CONFERENCE.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of conference, it is incompatible with the duty which its members owe to the Church, as its ministers, for them to be engaged in attending anti-slavery conventions, delivering abolition lectures, or forming anti-slavery societies, either in or out of the Church, or in any way agitating the subject as to disturb the peace and harmony of the Church, and that they be, and hereby are affectionately advised and admonished to refrain from all these things.

Resolved, As the sense of this conference, that any of its members or probationers who may patronize "Zion's Watchman," by writing in commendation of its character, by recommending it to our people, by obtaining subscribers, or by collecting or remitting money for it, shall be guilty of indiscretion, and be censured by the conference.

Extract from the journal of the New York Annual Conference, at its session in May, 1838.

C. W. CARPENTER, Sec.

COLONIZATION.

The NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER in publishing the address to the people of the United States, which appeared in our last, makes the following judicious remarks :

[*From the National Intelligencer, June 2, 1838.*]

We would invite the attention of our readers and of the whole American Public to the eloquent Address, which we this day publish, in behalf of the African Colonization Society, from gentlemen of Congress and others, distinguished before the country for talents, patriotism, and character. The subject of this Address appeals to the wise and the good in every portion of our country; it appeals to the statesman as well as the philanthropist; it appeals especially to the friends of the Union, whether of the North, the South, or the West, and, in the name of Union, Patriotism, and Philanthropy, it claims the support of all. Regarding the Society in this light, it is with sincere pleasure that we see its claims emphatically sanctioned and upheld, as they are in this Address, by so large and so distinguished a body of citizens—comprising men of opposite principles in politics, from the most widely separated States of the Republic, and of every religious creed. Such an appeal *will* be heard, and *must* be considered by the American People. It is worthy not only of the consideration of individuals, but of the immediate and liberal support of the Governments of the country. Our fellow-citizens of the North will not much longer yield to the impulses of a fanatical and mischievous philanthropy, setting at nought all the lessons of experience, of patriotic wisdom, and tried benevolence, on a subject too grave and great, and too foreign to their proper duties, to be touched by them with any other tendency or effect than evil, both social and national. Nor can reflecting people in the South fail to discern, in the safe, practicable plan of Colonization, elements of good to their society, and of humanity towards a race thrown upon them for protection and care, and upon their decisions for all hope of an improved condition—every thing, indeed, to recommend it to their generous regards. The intelligence coming to us through authentic sources, of the increasing prosperity of the Colonies of Liberia, whether we regard morality, sobriety, education; agriculture, commerce, or other great interests connected with every well-ordered community, puts beyond question to enlightened minds the practicability, we may say the unexampled success, of the Colonization Scheme. Funds only are wanting to effect far higher, and nobler results, and the appeal now made we trust will not be made in vain to the reason, the hearts, and the purses of our countrymen. Should the friends of the Society think proper, as suggested in one of the resolutions adopted at the recent meeting in this city, to convene in their respective towns or counties, for the purpose of aiding the cause, we have no doubt the institution would be relieved from every embarrassment and soon find itself with an overflowing treasury.

From the Christian Mirror, Portland, May 21.

MY DEAR SIR :—Have you read the last numbers of the African Repository? If not, do read them; and, if you can, transfer some of their many interesting articles to the Mirror, I think your readers, one

and all, will thank you. I have read them with intense interest ; and I do not know of an article in either of the two last numbers which any Christian philanthropist would not rejoice to read. I can hardly feel willing to die without being permitted to see Africa, or aid in some way to hasten on the day of her redemption. I have long looked upon that dark land as one of the most interesting parts of the globe; and if others feel as I do, they would be very grateful to you, if you would oftener spread before your readers the latest news from the Colonies of Western Africa. Suppose you should publish from the last Repository, Dr. Goheen's "letter," or Rev. Mr. Sey's "Report," or "Liberia as it is"—who will be displeased?—or rather, I would ask, whose heart will not be filled with grateful emotions to that God who influenced Christian philanthropists to plant colonies of free blacks in Africa? What a *glorious* day is dawning upon that oppressed, despised and long, *too long*, forgotten country and race! And who can doubt but that the day of redemption to her hundred millions of heathen has already dawned? And who does not see that *Liberia*, (with her 18 churches and her 40 ministers already) will share *largely* in the glory of spreading the glorious news of salvation over that whole vast and benighted continent? Let these colonies be sustained but a little longer and let others be planted, and it *cannot* be long before the colored people in this country will see that it is for their *interest* to go to Africa—and then you cannot keep them here any more than you can keep European emigrants from coming, by thousands and tens of thousands, to this country every year. But I have strayed from the object I had in view when I began to write, which was merely to ask you to transfer some of the many interesting articles in the last Repository to the columns of the Mirror.

Yours very truly, W. H. P.

Rev. ASA CUMMINGS.

From the Colonization Herald.

GENERAL REMARKS ON LIBERIA.

NO. II.

The Superstitions and habits of the Native Africans.

The superstitions of the African tribes in the neighborhood of the Colony of Liberia scarcely deserve the name of a religion. It seems to be the operation of a wild veneration manifested in the form of vague fears of some evil influence being continually impending over them, which they try to obviate by the performance of some ridiculous mummeries, and suspending round their persons various articles, such as horns filled with some sort of clay mixed with powdered herbs, birds, feathers, &c., called *greegrees*. The person privileged to make these things, and perform their ceremonies is called *greegree man*. The god whom the natives are thus supposed to worship has been called the "devil" by the European visitors to the coast, as a translation of the

native term, and the priest "devil man." But it must not be supposed from this, that the natives understand by this word the "prince of the power of the air" mentioned in the scriptures, although their ideas of some evil being existing is thus nevertheless true. The place selected for the performance of their mysteries is in the centre of some thick forest, deep in the gloomy shade of tall shady trees; and is hence called the *greegree bush* or *devil wood*. The influence which it is made to exercise over the people generally is partly superstitious, partly political. I have been informed by an intelligent colonist who lived eight years in a factory on the St. John's river, among the natives, before any settlement was placed there, who thus had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with their customs, to which a stranger cannot have access, that the chiefs or head men meet once a month and offer goats and other animals as a sacrifice to this evil being or devil as we term it. This custom, together with that of circumcision, and which latter is entirely confined to the children of the free, being forbidden to those of their domestic slaves, affords strong evidence in favor of the assertion that all false religions are corruptions of the true faith. Into this sacred forest no woman or boy is allowed to intrude, the penalty being very severe: death, foreign slavery, or a heavy fine, according to the offence or the rank of the offender. The young men of the tribe are initiated into manhood by being taken into the *greegree bush*, where they are shown a wooden cross erected, and a loud hoarse voice addresses them from the deep recesses of the wood, the speaker being invisible, telling them certain things they must do, and what they must not do, upon the penalty of being seized by the evil demon or spirit, and hung up on the cross before them to be an example to others. These instructions, as might be expected, are of a purely selfish character, having reference merely to themselves and their own tribe. For instance: they shall not injure each other; they shall assist each other; that they shall carefully keep any secret committed unto them. If asked any question likely to betray each other or their own tribe, they shall evade it by saying, "I no sabby; I be boy; the devil man no make me man yet." That is, I do not know, I am a boy, and have not yet been initiated into manhood, so as to have secrets committed unto me. Indeed it is seldom or never that they will bear witness against one another, when strangers or another tribe is concerned. When any thing is given them to eat, however little, they always share with each other. It will easily be seen then, what influence this devil bush and devil man has over them. How far it is regarded as a religious ceremony, and how far as a political engine, I have not yet been able satisfactorily to ascertain. When our native friend and ally, "Bob Gray of Grand Bassa 'pon my soul," sold the devil bush, which now forms part of the settlement of Edina, to the agent of the American Colonization Society, the whole surrounding tribes were about to arm against him, and he had to pay a heavy fine as well as solicit the protection of the colony to save his head. The Methodist Church now stands not far from the spot where the blood of the victims of their superstition and cruelty has flowed profusely. Many a wretch has been dragged into the depths of that forest gloom, that has

never returned to his companions again. Nor dared they to ask, "where is he?" "The devil has taken him," ended all further inquiry or hope. And who will withhold their blessing from that society which has thus placed Christianity triumphant over heathenism and cruelty? Who from this fact will not delight to contemplate the change that has taken place even there? To think that instead of the groans of the tortured victims of ignorance and idolatry, there arises to heaven praise to God and the Lamb from a band of Christian pilgrims that

— "shake the depths of the forest gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer."

On all important occasions, such as infringements against general laws or long established usages, or the commission of any crime, the matter is tried before an assemblage of the headmen or chiefs, and if the accused is found guilty, he is taken into the *devil bush*. If the crime is light he is fined so many bullocks, so many bowls, so many slaves, and so on in proportion; very often when the fine is heavy, a rich man is utterly ruined and becomes poor. If nothing but the offender's life will pay the forfeit, it is taken in the devil bush, and buried there, after which no one must inquire about the culprit, nay, his friends may not mourn over him. If a chief suffers in this way, his people must suffer along with him; if they escape to the neighboring villages, no one may receive them, else they share the same fate for their benevolence. Generally, however, the people are warned of it before sentence is passed on their chief. His men immediately range themselves under a new master, his women become the wives of other men. By this they save their lives.

On the first appearance of the new moon they devote the day to amusement; all labor is suspended. Eclipses of the sun or moon do not generally excite much attention. Some of the most prominent stars have names assigned them. On asking a native chief how he understood the sun to rise in the east after having set in the west, he replied that it travelled back during the night." R. McD.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

[From the *Vermont Chronicle* of May 16.]

The annual meeting was held in New York on Wednesday, May 2, and the sessions continued till the next Tuesday, when the public anniversary was held. From the report, it appears that the receipts of the year have been \$44,000. (At the last annual meeting pledges were given to the amount of \$47,000; and the amount which the Society resolved to raise in a year at the meeting in 1836, was \$50,000.) The number of copies of its publications issued during the last year is 646,502. (For the year ending May, 1837, the number was 718,267; the year ending May, 1836, 1,095,800.) Travelling agents employed during the year, 38; the aggregate of whose services is equal to 27 years. (Agents employed the preceding year, 65; aggregate services

equal to 32 years.) New Societies formed, 340. (The preceding year 483.) Last year there was collected (besides subscriptions and pledges at the annual meeting) about \$486 for every year's service of an agent, on an average; this year, nothing,—not so much as the pledges. In the year ending, May, 1836, there were formed, on an average, 41 Societies to every year's service of an agent; in the year ending May, 1837, 15; in the year ending May, 1838, 12.

Among the most important subjects before the Society was the following resolution introduced by Alvin Stewart, Esq.

That the clause of the 2d article of this Society be struck out which admits "that each State in which slavery exists has by the Constitution of the United States the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State."*

Mr. Stewart and Gerrit Smith, Esq., supported the motion; and it was opposed by William Jay, Wendell Phillips, and Ellis G. Loring, Esqs. The debate continued two days. The vote finally stood yeas 46, nays 38. Two-thirds being required to alter the constitution, the measure was not carried.

Among the other resolutions adopted were the following:

Resolved, That we shall deprecate the organization of any abolition political party, but that we recommend to abolitionists throughout the country to interrogate candidates for office with reference to their opinions on subjects connected with the abolition of slavery, and to vote irrespective of party for those only who will advocate the principles of universal liberty.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society be directed, at a proper time, to cause the following inquiries to be addressed to the several gentlemen who may be before the people of the United States as candidates for the offices of President and Vice President at the next election.

"1. Are you in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia,—for the honor and welfare of the nation?

"2. Are you in favor of so regulating the commerce between the respective States, that human beings shall not be made subjects of such trade?

"3. Are you opposed to the annexation of Texas to this Union, under any circumstances, so long as slaves are held therein?

"4. Are you in favor of acknowledging the independence of Hayti, and of establishing commercial relations with that nation on the same terms with the most favored nations?"

Resolved, That we observe with feelings of horror and execration, an export slave trade, commenced and prosecuted between the United State and Texas; and earnestly call on every patriot, and especially on members of Congress, to instant, persevering, and effectual exertions to put a stop to this nefarious traffic, and thus prevent our beloved country from becoming the Guinea of the New World.

Resolved, That George Bourne, Charles W. Denison, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Beriah Green, Samuel J. May, Amos A. Phelps, O. Scott, John G. Whittier, and Hiram Wilson be a committee to prepare a declaration which shall announce the judgment of the American Anti-Slavery Society concerning the common error that our enterprise is of a political and not religious character.

Resolved, That while we rejoice at the success of many hundreds of self-emancipated slaves, who by the exercise of their inalienable rights, have, during the past

*NOTE. In supporting this proposition, Mr. Stewart contended that "Congress by the power conferred on it by the Constitution, possesses the entire and absolute right to abolish slavery in every State and Territory in the Union," and that the abolitionists "are bound to do but one thing, which is to petition Congress without ceasing," until it exercises this right. Mr. Stewart's doctrine was, it seems, too strong for Judge Jay. This gentleman has since published an elaborate refutation of it, which will be found in a subsequent page of this number.—ED. AFR. REP.

year, gained a secure retreat under the protection of a government which holds no compromise with SLAVERY; we yet cannot but regret the loss to our own country, of so many intelligent, industrious and valuable citizens, whose influence is needed in the great work of emancipation and elevation now before us.

Resolved, That any person who aids in restoring the fugitive to his master, and in reimposing the chains of slavery upon a fellow-being, whether acting as a public officer, or otherwise, is guilty of a crime against freedom, humanity, and religion—and should be regarded as the abettor of a base and cruel despotism.

Resolved, That we recommend to abolitionists especially in the cities and larger villages and towns to appoint committees of vigilance, whose duty it shall be to assist fugitives from slavery, in making their escape, or in a legal vindication of their rights.

The New York "Committee of Vigilance," according to which those recommended in the last resolution are to be modelled—has been for some time engaged as we understand it, systematically, in aiding the escape of slaves from the slave-holding States,—their arrangements being so made that they know when a slave may be expected to leave his master in Virginia, (for instance,) and they have lines of communication to facilitate his passage till he reaches Canada.

WEST AFRICA.

[From the *Vermont Chronicle*, June 6.]

A stranger called the other day and expressed a wish for time to assist us in making selections from the last number of the *African Repository*. He was an anti-Colonizationist. He mentioned one passage that had interested him particularly. It was a statement like this: That at first Colonization was much opposed by large slave-holders in Maryland, but when they came to understand that it would increase the value of their property, they became its advocates. Such as we understood him, was the purport of the paragraph. And his inference was that Colonization ought not to be patronized.

Let us see how this principle will do in another case. One of the leading inferences in Thome and Kimball's *West Indies*, from what they learned in Antigua, is, "that emancipation in Antigua was the result of political and pecuniary considerations merely." They quote the following remark, made by an influential gentleman before emancipation took place:—"I have been making calculations with regard to the probable results of emancipation, and I have ascertained beyond a doubt, that I can cultivate my estate at least one-third cheaper by free labor than by slave labor." Ought emancipation to have been opposed because some masters advocated it on such selfish grounds? Again. In Barbadoes the apprenticeship system was adopted. It is now likely that entire emancipation will soon be proclaimed. It is advocated by slave-holders because likely to "increase the value of their property." Speaking of a gentleman who had been a planter 30 years, Messrs. Thome and Kimball say: "He has made a calculation of the expenses of cultivating the estate on which he resides for one year during slavery, and what they will probably be for one year under the free system. He

finds the latter are less by about \$3,000." Ought entire emancipation in Barbadoes to be opposed because planters seek it for such reasons?

No,—the *principle* that a plan must be opposed because some of its supporters are actuated by unworthy motives,—will never do.

What were the other passages that the gentleman had in his mind we do not know. The last number of the Repository received here contains much that is interesting. For instance:

1. The acting Governors at Monrovia and Bassa Cove, at the latest date were colonists; and were discharging their trusts in a manner highly creditable to their intelligence, judgment, and energy. All the other offices are filled by colonists.

2. The people at all the colonies are remarkably temperate and moral. The Maryland, Pennsylvania, and (if we mistake not) Mississippi colonies were all commenced and have all been prosecuted on strict principles of abstinence from the use of ardent spirits as a beverage, and from the traffic in them. And as to Liberia, Dr. Goheen, after residing in the Colony five months and having much intercourse with the citizens during the whole time, writes: "I have only seen one man intoxicated and heard but one make use of profane language since I landed in Africa." He adds:

I watched them narrowly last fall, during the three days' election for a lieutenant governor, councillors, and other officers, and though party spirit ran high, each having its favorite candidates, yet there was no liquor to be seen—no swearing, no fighting, nor any of the many unpleasant circumstances which I have known to take place on like occasions, where there was a *less* number of qualified voters. The business of the colony is transacted according to due form of law, and it is not one of my least sources of enjoyment to visit the courts, and observe the dignified manner in which they are conducted—the judge, jury, attorneys, &c., &c., of colonists.

3. The colonies are evidently religious communities. There are 18 churches in Liberia; forty clergymen in all the colonies; every church is supplied with preaching on the Sabbath; and religious meetings are held weekly in many of the native villages. About one fifth of the whole population are members, in regular standing of Christian churches, "The tone of Society is religious. No where is the Sabbath more strictly observed, or the places of worship better attended. Sunday Schools and Bible Classes are established generally in the churches, into which, in many cases, native children are gathered with those of the colonists."

4. It is the intention of friends of Colonization to make the Colonies so attractive to intelligent and well disposed people of color, that they will soon emigrate, in great numbers at their own expense. "The emigration that takes place from Europe to America is now treble the increase of the whole colored population of the United States. These emigrants come on their own means—because America is attractive—because it is for their interest to come." The friends of Colonization, through intelligent, moral and prosperous colonies, would excite the same feeling among people of color here.

5. The slaves emancipated by the late Mr. Tubman, of Georgia, who have been repeatedly mentioned, have gone to Africa with a very liberal outfit, from the legacy of their late master, and leaving behind them a

large sum to be expended for their benefit, as their situation in Africa may hereafter require.

6. Dr. Goheen, formerly of Pennsylvania, writes that before he went out he was sceptical respecting the accuracy of some statements made by friends of Colonization, because he heard so much of a contrary character from men whom he considered too conscientious to make known misstatements and too well informed to be ignorant on the subject.—He could not avoid, he says, placing some confidence in the very eloquent remarks of “abolition gentlemen,” respecting “the ignorance, the vices, profaneness, debauchery, drunkenness, and miserably wretched and famishing state of the colony.” He now says:—“From all the information I have been able to collect, by observation and otherwise, I have no hesitancy in pronouncing all such accounts of Liberia and its inhabitants to be utterly without the shadow of foundation or truth, and flagitious misrepresentations.”

7. The colonists are doing good to the natives. The last report of the Methodist Liberia Mission says: “Though some of our native converts are *right out of the bush*, yet many of them are individuals who have been residing in the families of colonists, have been taught by them the knowledge of the Christian’s God, have witnessed their pious examples, which have proved unto them the savor of life unto life, and owe in a great measure their salvation to them as instruments in the hands of God.”

We might enlarge our extracts, of similar tenor, under each of these heads, and add others of kindred character; but we cannot say that any of these things are what interested the gentleman so much. We are sure, however, that a reader of this number of the Repository, who delights to dwell on all the good that is done in the world, would find such representations the most prominent and interesting.

SOUTH AFRICA.

[From the Gospel Witness.]

The abandonment of “Cape Colony,” by the old Dutch Settlers for the interior.

At a meeting of the Geographical Society, Sir John Barrow, Vice President in the chair, a paper was read, “On the emigration of the Border Colonists, from the Journal of a visit to the Chief Moselakatse, in South Africa, in May, 1837, by Captain Harris, E. I. C. Engineers.” “The abandonment of the Cape Colony, by the old Dutch inhabitants, has surely no parallel in the history of British Colonial possessions. Partial emigrations are by no means uncommon; but here is an instance of a body of between five and six thousand persons, who have, with one accord abandoned the land of their nativity and the homes of their forefathers, endeared to them by a thousand interesting associations, and have recklessly plunged into the pathless wilds of the interior, braving

the perils of the wilderness, and many of them already in the vale of years, seeking out for themselves another dwelling place in a strange and inhospitable soil. In 1834 several of the frontier farmers, who had heard much of the soil and capabilities of Port Natal, formed a large party, and with twelve wagons, proceeded to explore the country. So pleased were they with what they saw, that immediately on the conclusion of the Kafir war, thirty families left the colony under the guidance of Louis Triechard. They proceeded across the Great River, in a N. E. direction, skirting the mountain chain which divides Caffraria from Bechanana Land, intending, when they had cleared it, to turn to the eastward, and gain the neighborhood of Port Natal. The features presented by this barrier are rugged and forbidding in the extreme, and from the imperfect knowledge possessed by the emigrants of that section of Southern Africa, they were led by the course of the mountains far beyond the latitude of Port Natal, and found themselves in a fertile but uninhabited waste, lying between the 26th and 27th parallels of latitude, but on the eastern bank of a large and beautiful river, which flows sluggishly along through a level tract in a north-easterly direction, and is said to join the Oori or Simpopo, and discharge its waters into Delagoa Bay. As this country was abundantly watered, abounded with game and afforded all the materials requisite for building, the journey of the emigrants was for the present discontinued. The example thus set was speedily followed; numerous parties, with their flocks and herds crossed the Great River, dived into the very heart of the wilderness, and scattered themselves along the luxurious banks of the Likwa, or Vaal river, until the country in advance should have been explored. About the end of May a party left the emigrant camp for the purpose of exploring the north-eastward. They penetrated sixteen days journey further than Louis Triechard's station at Zout-pans-berg, through a lovely, fertile, and unoccupied country, until they arrived within six days journey of Delagoa Bay, where they found a friendly tribe of natives, whom they named Knobnosed Kafirs. Returning hence to their camp, they found it totally deserted; it had been attacked the day before by Mosel-ekatse, and twenty-eight of their number had been murdered; after this and a second murderous attack, the migratory farmers fell back about five days journey to the south side of the Vaal river; here again they were attacked by the Matabili, and lost 6,000 head of cattle, 40,000 sheep and goats, after which they again fell back to the sources of the Modder river. Here they were reinforced by a strong body of emigrants; and Maritz, the chief, with a chosen body of men, marched to retaliate on the Matabili, and on the 17th January, gained a bloody victory over them, in the valley of Mosega, securing 7000 head of cattle and their own wagons. The news of this victory had an almost magical effect upon the Dutch colonists; large caravans were daily to be seen hurrying across the border, and flocking to the standard of their expatriated countrymen. By the most recent accounts, the united emigrants had advanced from Thaba Unchu in the direction of the Vaal river and in May 1837 upwards of 1000 wagons and 1600 efficient men were assembled near the confluence of the branches of the Vet river. A

commando, consisting of 500 farmers, was preparing to march to arrange matters with Moselekatse, or completely to subvert his power; after which their journey towards Louis Tricard's position will be resumed. There the corner-stone of a city will be laid, and a new Amsterdam will rear its head in the very heart of the wilderness.

A MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

From African Sketches by Thomas Pringle.

The valley of the White River lies at the bottom of the Zureberg mountains, which rise on this side to an elevation of about 2500 feet above the level of the adjacent country. The declivities of the mountain, and the whole of the subsidiary hills which encompass this glen, are covered with the clustering forest jungle which I have described; but the banks of the stream are comparatively level and open, and covered with luxuriant pastures of sweet grass. The whole length of the vale may be, altogether, probably, about ten or twelve miles, from the spot where the little river abruptly emerges from the recesses of the mountains to where it joins the Sunday River. The scenery of the upper part of the dell is very picturesque. Accompanying the course of the stream, as it meanders through the meadows, you have on the right, lofty hills covered with woods of evergreens, and broken by *kloofs*, or subsidiary dells, filled with large forest timber. On the left the hills are lower, but also covered with copsewood, and in many places diversified by rocks and cliffs of deep red and other lively colors. The valley, winding among those woody heights, spreads out occasionally to a considerable breadth: and then again the converging hills appear to close it entirely with huge masses of rock and forest. At every turn the outline of the hills varies, presenting new points of picturesque scenery; while, scattered through the meadows, or bending over the river margin, appear little clumps of evergreens, willows, and acacias; and sometimes groves of lofty forest trees (chiefly yellow wood, or Cape cedar,) enrich the vale with a stately beauty not always met with in South African landscape. This combination of the wild, the grand and the beautiful, is heightened in its effect by the exotic appearance of the vegetation; the lofty candelabra-shaped cuphorbias towering above the copses of evergreens; the aloes clustering along the summits or fronts of the weather stained rocks; the spekboom, with its light green leaves and lilack blossoms; the more elegantly shaped mimosa, with its yellow tufted flowers; the baboon's ladder, wild vine, and other parasitical plants and creepers, that climb among the crags, and festoon in grotesque exuberance the branches of the loftiest trees, intermingled with jasmines and superb geraniums; these, and a thousand other shrubs and flowers, of which only a few are known to our green-houses, adorn even the precipitous rocks and fill up the interstices of the forest.

The meadows, too, or savannahs along the river banks, are richly embellished, at least in the spring and early summer, with the large purple flowers of a species of amyrrillis which has a very splendid appearance. At the time of my visit, which was the autumn of the southern

hemisphere, the vale was thickly overspread with a small, white, delicate flower, somewhat resembling the snow drop. The river itself, like our own River of Baboens, is but a large mountain torrent, bursting down, after heavy rains, in floods which sweep over a great part of the level meads above described, and which fling up, in their violence, immense quantities of large rolled stones and gravel, through which the stream, when diminished by the summer heats, filtrates silently and unperceived. The current, however, even in the greatest droughts, is never entirely interrupted, though sometimes invisible, but always fills the large pools, or natural tanks, which spread out like little lakelets along its channel, and which its temporary floods serve to sweep and purify.

The Moravian Settlement of Enon was situate near the centre of the valley of the White River, and in the midst of the scenery which I have attempted to describe. It stood upon a level spot of alluvial soil, near the margin of one of the deep lagoons formed by the river, and which the brethren have named the Leguan's Tank, from its being frequented by numbers of the large amphibious lizard called the leguan, or guana. It was also, I observed, well stocked with a species of carp common to many of the South African streams.

The village was laid out in the form of a long street, at the upper end of which were to be erected the church, school room, work shops, and dwelling houses of the missionaries. A small part only of these buildings had as yet been completed; for the good brethren and their Hottentot disciples had returned but a few months before to reoccupy this station, after having been driven out of it by the Caffres in the war of 1819.

The number of Hottentots at this institution was then about 200. Their dwellings were, with a few exceptions, small wattled cabins of a very simple construction.

The extent of cultivation here was much inferior to what I afterwards witnessed at the elder Moravian settlement of Genadendal, where the whole village is enveloped in a forest of fruit trees; but, considering the short period that had elapsed since the inhabitants had returned to their labors, as much had been accomplished as could reasonably be expected. The appearance of the whole place was neat, orderly and demure. There was no hurried bustle, no noisy activity, even in the missionary workshops, though industry plied there its regular and cheerful task; but a sort of pleasing pastoral quiet seemed to reign throughout the settlement, and brood over the secluded valley.

There were at this time three missionaries at Enon, besides another brother who was absent on a journey, all of them natives of Germany. The eldest of these, who was also the superintendent of the institution, was the venerable Brother Schmitt, who, after spending his earlier years as a missionary on the desolate coast of Labrador, had been sent to Southern Africa. Mrs. Schmitt, an Englishwoman, and at this period the only white woman in the settlement, appeared to be a person exceedingly well adapted for the station she occupied. The two younger brethren were plain mechanics.

Regularity is one of the most striking characteristics of the Moravian

system; and a love of order, even to excess, pervades every part of their economy. In order to give some idea of this, I shall mention the daily routine at this place, which is, I believe, precisely similar to that established at their other institutions in this country.

At six o'clock in the morning, the missionaries and their families are summoned together, by the ringing of a large bell suspended in front of the mission house. The matin hymn is then sung, and a text of Scripture read, for all to meditate upon during the day; and after drinking a single cup of coffee, they separate to pursue their respective occupations. At eight o'clock the bell reassembles them to a substantial breakfast, consisting of fish, fruit, eggs, and cold meat; each person commonly drinking a single glass of wine. This meal, as well as the others, is preceded and followed by a short hymn, by way of grace, in which all the company join. As soon as breakfast is over, they retire to their separate apartments, for meditation or devotion, till nine o'clock, when the active labors of the day are again resumed, and continued till noon. At twelve o'clock precisely the bell is again rung; labor is intermitted; the school is dismissed; and the brethren and their families assemble in the dining hall to the mid day meal. The dishes are sometimes numerous, (especially, I presume, when they have visitors,) but the greater part consists of fruit and vegetables of their own cultivation, variously dressed. I did not observe that any of the brethren drank more than a single glass of wine, and that generally mixed with water. The meal is enlivened with cheerful conversation, and is closed with the customary little hymn of thanksgiving. All then rise and retire, to occupy or amuse themselves as each may be inclined. Most of the missionaries, after dinner, take a short nap, a practice generally prevalent throughout the Cape colony, except among the English. At two o'clock, a cup of tea or coffee is drank, and all proceed again with alacrity to their various occupations, which are prosecuted till six. This latter hour concludes the labors of the day; the sound of the hammer is stilled, and the brethren assemble once more at the evening meal, which consists of light viands, and is soon over. After supper they adjourn to the Church, where a portion of scripture is briefly explained, or a homily delivered, either to the whole Hottentot congregation, or to one of the several sections in which the people are classed, agreeably to the progress they may have attained in knowledge and piety. All then retire to rest, with an appearance of cheerful satisfaction; such as may be naturally imagined to result from the habitual practice of industry and temperance, unembittered by worldly cares, and hallowed by the consciousness of having devoted their mental and bodily faculties to the glory of God and the good of men.

Though the Moravians find it impracticable or inexpedient to follow up in their missionary settlements some of the peculiar and rather monastic regulations, which are observed in their European establishments, such as separating the married and the unmarried, the youth of different sexes, &c. still their precision and formality in classification are very remarkable. Among other peculiarities of this description, I may refer to the singular arrangement of their burial grounds, which are divided and subdivided, by walks crossing at right angles, into several

compartments. One of these plots, thus marked off, is appropriated for the sepulture of the married missionary brethren and sisters, a second for the unmarried brothers; a third for the unmarried sisters; a fourth and fifth for baptised and married natives, male and female; a sixth and seventh for the unmarried and unbaptized natives, and so on. This certainly is carrying classification to a most fanciful pitch; especially that of mere mortal dust and ashes! Passing over this, however, there is unquestionably something very touching, as well as tasteful and picturesque, in the appearance of a Moravian burial ground in South Africa. Situate at some little distance from the village, yet not far from the house of worship, cut out in the centre of a grove of evergreens, and kept as neat as a pleasure garden, the burial ground of Enon formed a pleasing contrast to the solitary graves heaped with a few loose stones, or the neglected and dilapidated church yard usually met with in the colony. The funeral service, too, of the Moravians is very solemn and impressive. And still more solemn must be the yearly celebration of their service on Easter morn, when the whole population of the settlement is congregated in the burial ground, to listen to an appropriate discourse from the most venerable of their pastors, accompanied by an affecting commemoration of such of their friends and relatives as may have died within the year, and followed by hymns and anthems sung by their united voices amidst the ashes of their kindred.

The missionaries at this place, like their German countrymen in general, appeared to have a fine taste for music; and the voices of the Hottentots being peculiarly mellow, there was nothing vulgar or discordant in their singing; but, on the contrary, a sweet, solemn, and pathetic harmony. Nothing, indeed, can well be conceived more exquisitely affecting than the rich though simple melody of one of these missionary hymns when sung by an African congregation in the bosom of their native woods, where only a few years ago no voice was heard save the howling of wild beasts, or the yell of savage hordes.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Commercial Advertiser has received papers from Graham's Town, South Africa, up to the 19th of March. There has been a mutiny among the Hottentots of the Cape Corps.

A shocking murder of 270 Dutch emigrants, men, women, and children, has been perpetrated by a chief of the Zoola country, named Dingaan, near Port Natal.

The latest information from the Zoola country was by a letter dated March 19, in which fears are expressed that the American missionary, Mr. Lindsley, with his family, also perished in the massacre of the Dutch emigrants. The murder of Thomas Halsted, Dingaan's interpreter, was ascertained.

Slavers Captured.—The British brig of war Snake, is reported to have captured in the West Indies the slave ships Matilda and Arrogant, for Havana. The British frigate Pearl arrived at Bermuda May 18, having two slavers as prizes, captured in April; the brig Diligent with 480, and the Opposition with a large number. Her B. M. schr. Sappho has taken into New Providence the brig Canovers with 580 slaves.

JUDGE JAY'S EXAMINATION OF MR. ALVAN STEWART'S CONSTITUTIONAL ARGUMENT.

The following is the article referred to in a note to page 173, and is taken from the *Emancipator* of 31st May.

At the anniversary meeting of the N. Y. State Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, on the 20th Sept., 1837, Mr. Alvan Stewart, one of the officers of the Society, delivered before it an argument to prove that "Congress by the power conferred on it by the Constitution, possesses the entire and absolute right to abolish slavery in every state and territory in the Union;" and contending that "we" (abolitionists) "are bound to do but one thing, which is to petition Congress without ceasing," until it exercises this right.

This argument was directed by the Society to be published by its Executive Committee, and to be referred to this meeting for "further consideration." It has accordingly been read to us, and we are now called to vote on a proposition submitted to us by the author of this argument, to cancel that portion of the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society which admits "that each state in which slavery exists has by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said state."

Waving the expression of feelings and sentiments naturally excited by these proceedings, I hasten to examine the reasons assigned for the fundamental change proposed in our constitution; and should any be disposed to regard the examination as more minute and laborious than the reasons themselves require, I beg them to accept the stupendous importance of this question, not merely to the slave, but also to the free population of our country, as an apology for the claims I may make on their time and patience.

The position assumed in the document referred to us, is, to quote its words, that "Congress possesses the entire and absolute right to abolish slavery in every state and territory in the Union." It is certainly extraordinary that a grant, and as we shall see hereafter, not an accidental but a deliberate, well advised grant of power, so extensive in its terms, and so momentous in its consequences, should have been made without exciting a murmur of disapprobation, and should have lain concealed in the Constitution for nearly half a century. It is singular that the authors of the *Federalist*, all political men, and actively engaged in public life when the Constitution was adopted, in their profound disquisitions on that instrument, take no notice of this grant; and that a Story and a Kent, although generally esteemed learned commentators on the Constitution, are evidently utterly ignorant that such a grant was ever made to Congress. No court of justice has ever recognized this grant; and no lawyer, I believe, even suspected its existence; prior to the discovery made by Mr. Stewart, and published by him on the 30th September, 1837.

In 1789, Congress recommended sundry amendments to the federal constitution, which were finally adopted. The grant of power alluded to, is asserted to be contained in the 5th amendment, and to be given in the following words, viz: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty

or property, without due process of law." The process by which these few and simple words are converted into a grant of power to Congress to abolish slavery, and of course to nullify the compromise made by the constitution between the slave and free states, by which in estimating the ratio of representation five slaves are to be counted as three white men, is the following. The words of the amendment, we are told, are in substance borrowed from Magna Charta, granted by King John 500 years ago, and have had certain "fixed ideas" ever since.—"No lawyer," says the document before us, "in this country or in England, who is worthy of the name, will deny that the true and only meaning of the phrase, "due process of law" is an indictment or presentment by a grand jury of not less than twelve, nor more than 23 men, a trial by a petit jury of twelve men, and a judgment pronounced on the finding of that jury by a court." As the slaves have not been deprived of their liberty by this combined action of a grand jury, a petit and a court, therefore they have been deprived of their liberty contrary to the provisions of the 5th amendment, and therefore Congress has the absolute right to set them at liberty.

Admitting the amendment to mean precisely what it is said to mean; nay, even supposing it had declared in so many words that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, but by indictment, trial by jury and judgment, it would be difficult to extract from it a grant of power to Congress to repeal all state laws inconsistent with these provisions.

It is a matter of history that the adoption of the federal constitution was vehemently opposed, and that grievous complaints were made that it contained no bill of rights by which individual citizens might be secured from the abuse of the power invested in the new government and its officers. Various state conventions, although acceding to the constitution, recommended the adoption of amendments restraining the power of the federal government, and guarding it from abuse. Accordingly, the Congress of 1789, proposed 10 amendments, which were subsequently incorporated into the constitution. Their motive in proposing these amendments is thus explained in the preamble of the act, viz: "The conventions of a number of states having at the time of adopting the constitution expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that farther declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added," &c. The people did not want the new government to guard them from the oppression of their own magistrates chosen by themselves. The state constitutions and the right of suffrage afforded them all the protection they needed from their own servants; but they did ask the new constitution to shield them from the abuse of *its* powers, to use the language of Congress, and to provide that no *federal* executive or judicial officer should deprive a citizen of life, liberty or property, but by due process of law. It is strange indeed, if one of these "restrictive clauses," obtained through jealousy of the general government, contains a grant of power to that government to set aside the laws, constitution and institutions of every state government, in relation to its jurisprudence; and indirectly to strip the citizens of the slave states of privileges which they seem to value above every earthly

blessing, and to overthrow a system which southern patriots (!) affirm to be the corner-stone of political liberty. Another of these restrictive clauses is, that "excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted." This clause, instead of being *restrictive*, would be one of tremendous power, did it give the national government jurisdiction over the bail required, the fines imposed, and the punishments inflicted by state magistrates, state courts, and state legislatures. Hence we are informed by Judge Story, that it has been held, "that this clause does not apply to punishments inflicted in a state court for crimes against such state, but that the prohibition is addressed solely to the national government, and operates as a restriction upon its powers." *Story III. 751.*

It is plain, therefore, that admitting the 5th amendment to mean what in the argument before us, it is said to mean, still, instead of being a grant of power to Congress over state laws and state institutions, it is in fact a "restrictive clause," and in the language just quoted, "the prohibition is addressed *solely* to the national government." But so far from admitting the interpretation given to the expression "due process of law" in the argument referred to us by the State Society, I unhesitatingly deny in the most unqualified terms its correctness. We are indeed assured that no lawyer "who is worthy of the name, will deny that the true and only meaning of the phrase," is an indictment, &c. If I am to be punished for this denial, by being thrown over the bar, it is not a little consoling to know that L. A. Coke must keep me company in my disgrace. Mr. Stewart, on the authority of Judge Story, cites his Lordship to interpret "due process of law," indictment, &c. Had he turned to his Lordship's commentary on Magna Charta, he would have found him proving from the Statute of 37 E. 3. cap. 6, that the expression "By the law of the land" is understood in the Statute to mean "due process of law," and that in "due process of law" the Statute *includes* indictment or presentment, and *also* "writ original of the common law." He then goes on to define the phrase more particularly, and tell us, "It is to be understood that process of law is two-fold, viz: By the King's writ, or by due proceeding and warrant either indeed, *or in law* without writ." He then shows that *any* person having just cause to suspect another of felony or treason, may arrest him without a warrant, and such just cause is itself "a warrant *in law*," and of course the arrest in such a case, is made by *due process of law*." Again, "Seeing no man can be taken, arrested, attached or imprisoned, but by due process of the law of the land, these conclusions hereupon do follow: First, that a commitment by lawful warrant either indeed *or in law* is accounted in law DUE PROCESS, a proceeding of the law, and by the law of the land, as well as by process, by force of the King's writ." 2. Inst. 50—52.

Let us now consider the practical effect of the construction given in the argument before us to the 5th amendment, and to the power claimed for Congress under it; and see how far such construction and such power are consistent with plain common sense.

1. The article, if it means what the document referred to us asserts, sweeps away the whole civil jurisdiction of the United States Courts,

since that jurisdiction is exercised in depriving people of their property, and often of their liberty, without the intervention of a grand jury.

2. If the power of the article extends as we are told to the states, and controls state laws, then it closes every court of chancery in the Union, because such courts proceed without either grand or petit juries—it abolishes instantler all imprisonment for debt, and for damages recovered in civil suits, and it arrests all judgments recovered in our civil courts, depriving persons of property or liberty, because in all these cases there has been no presentment by a grand jury.

3. The whole practice and experience of our country disprove this novel construction. Not a single day has passed for the last 48 years, in which persons have not been deprived of liberty or property by the operation of the state laws, without the action of a grand jury, and in innumerable cases without even a trial by a petit jury; and yet in no one instance has Congress interposed, or even been asked to interpose under this article, to afford redress.

4. The protection of this article is surely not exclusively confined to slaves. If therefore Congress may release a slave from the custody of his master in Georgia because that custody has not been authorized by an indictment by a grand jury, a verdict by a petit jury, and a judgment by a court, I see not why Congress has not the right to release from the custody of the sheriff a suitor in chancery committed to that custody by the sole order of the chancellor of New York.

5. The constitution of New York contains the very words of the article: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law," and yet the same constitution provides for a court of chancery, authorized to deprive people of liberty and property without jury of any kind.

But it may be said, the article relates solely to criminal prosecutions. If so, it cannot apply to slaves, since they are not deprived of liberty, as a punishment for crime. But the assertion is gratuitous. Property is placed under the same constitutional protection that life and liberty are, and it is as unconstitutional to take away a man's farm without due process of law, as it is to take away his life.

But admitting the article was intended by the Congress of 1789 to apply only to the prevention or punishment of crime, let us see its operation. No sheriff could arrest and detain a culprit until *after* sentence was pronounced. No mob could be dispersed by a military force, however great the outrages they were committing, since life can be taken only *after* indictment, trial and sentence. The article throws open the doors of all the penitentiaries in those states where the place of a grand jury is supplied by prosecuting officers, or where the grand jury consists of less than 12, or more than 23 men. It nullifies all state laws regulating criminal trials, if they depart a little from the standard of the article. In the state of New York any person accused of petit larceny or assault and battery, and unable to find bail, may be immediately tried before a court of special sessions, and by a jury of *six* men, without any presentment or indictment; and if found guilty, may also be deprived of his property of the amount of \$50, and of his liberty for the term of six months. Hence Congress may, under this article, give

liberty to all our petty rogues, with as much constitutional right, as it may emancipate the slaves.

But whatever may be the inconveniences or absurdities resulting from the construction we are opposing, we are gravely assured that the words of the article are in substance borrowed from the Magna Charta, and have had "fixed ideas" for the last 500 years. The words in the Magna Charta, from which the expression in the constitution is supposed to be borrowed, are "no *freeman* shall be taken or imprisoned, &c., unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the *laws of the land*." "The laws of the land" mean we are told "due process of law," and this phrase means indictment, &c. It may be thought enough has been said on this point, but the proposal now before us for a fundamental change in our constitution is a question of life or death to the whole anti-slavery organization, and the argument on which that proposal is founded having been referred to our "consideration" by an important state auxiliary, it becomes us to examine all its details.

If by the great charter no Englishman could be deprived of life, liberty or property, except on the presentment of a grand jury, a trial by a petit jury and a judgment of a court, it seems extraordinary that so many state criminals should have been put to death in virtue of special acts of Parliament, called bills of attainder, without any trial, and that such bills, however denounced as cruel or unjust, were never deemed infringements of the charter. Peers of the realm are sentenced to death, not on the verdict of a jury, but by judgment of the House of Lords. Free-born Englishmen are daily deprived of property and liberty by decrees in chancery, a court within whose walls neither grand nor petit juries are ever seen.—In the King's Bench, it is common to try, fine and imprison men for high misdemeanors on the *ex officio* information of the Attorney General, without any presentment by a grand jury. So much for the practical operation of Magna Charta; now for the *motives* which induce American statesmen to borrow its phraseology, or rather the shadow of that phraseology. The document before us declares that "the framers of the constitution," (that is, the convention of 1789,) "fearing and knowing that a different rule or principle prevailed in some of the states in relation to certain unfortunate persons known under the name of SLAVES, determined to incorporate this branch of Magna Charta, into the constitution, believing that 500 years of eventful experience proved its soundness as a chief corner stone of constitutional liberty." So it seems the Senate and House of Representatives in 1789 proposed the 5th amendment *for the express purpose of abolishing slavery*, and selected certain words, or words of similar meaning from Magna Charta from an experience of 500 years of their anti-slavery efficacy. This is certainly novel information, and not very flattering to the intelligence and sincerity of the first federal Congress, Forty-nine years ago, it seems, a fundamental law of the republic was adopted, abolishing slavery, but the framers of that law, although commiserating those unfortunate persons known by the name of slaves, kept their commiseration a profound secret, and instead of framing their act of emancipation in intelligible language, adopted a phraseology so occult that no court ever suspected its true meaning; and they selected this phraseology in preference to calling things by their right names, from

their observation of the practical operation of that phraseology under Magna Charta. It is not the least remarkable part of this strange history, that this fundamental abolition law was introduced by Mr. Madison, who lived and died a slaveholder, and agreed to by a Congress of whom a vast majority were the holders of slaves; and moreover that the freedom of no slave has ever been claimed under this law from the day it was enacted to the present hour. It is singular that our fathers should have supposed they were extracting a guaranty against slavery from Magna Charta, when by the very terms of the charter, slaves were excluded from the benefit of the provision containing the supposed guaranty. The language is, "No *freeman* shall be taken or imprisoned." That this was not an accidental qualification, is evident from another clause of the charter which recognizes *villeins* as distinct from *freemen*. The Barons of Runney Mead were themselves slaveholders, and Hume tells us the majority of the inhabitants of England were about this time "in a state of absolute slavery or villenage," and we learn from Spelman, the great legal antiquary of England, that the English bondmen "were not counted members of the commonwealth, but parcels of their master's goods and substance." The great charter was granted in 1215, and from that day to this, no villein was ever emancipated in virtue of it. Slavery was gradually undermined in England by the progress of religion and civilization, and finally expired in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 350 years after the assemblage in Runney Mead. In 1772, the court of King's bench decided that a West Indian slave could not be held in England not because it was contrary to Magna Charta, but because there was no law authorizing his detention.

I have now fully, and I trust fairly considered the arguments to which our state auxiliary has seen fit to call our attention; and I honestly confess, it has, if possible, strengthened my conviction of the truth of the great political doctrine declared in the constitution of our society, and of the impropriety of expunging it. In the course of debate, the resolution before us has been defended on other grounds besides those taken in the document I have been examining.—It has been said Congress has power "to provide for the general welfare," and *therefore*, it may abolish slavery in the states, whenever the general welfare, in the opinion of Congress, may require such a measure. Gentlemen who assume this position, are surely not aware, that they are betraying the very citadel of freedom, and are investing the slaveholding members of Congress and their northern allies with despotic authority. The preamble to the constitution declares, that it is established to ensure domestic *TRANQUILLITY*." Now it so happens, that the pro-slavery party in Congress find it very convenient to admit the doctrine of our expunging friends, and to take "the general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity" under their special guardianship. Hence the gag-resolution forbidding all action respecting "petitions, memorials, resolutions and propositions relating in any way or to any extent whatever, to the subject of *SLAVERY*," was thus introduced. "WHEREAS it is extremely important and desirable that agitation on this subject should be finally arrested, for the purpose of restoring *TRANQUILLITY* to the public mind, your committee respectfully recommend the following resolution." We have all united in denouncing this resolution as a breach of the constitution, but why,

if Congress has an unlimited power to provide for the general welfare, and ensure domestic tranquillity? Surely if the power exists, the right of deciding when and how it ought to be exercised, is vested in Congress, and not in the American Anti-slavery Society. The following extracts from the proceedings of a large county meeting held on the 7th of April last, in Zanesville, Ohio, may teach us, that if Congress may at discretion "provide for the general welfare," it will not be left exclusively to abolitionists, to dictate the mode. "We request Congress to make speedy and effective LAWS TO PUT DOWN ALL ABOLITION DOCTRINES AS SEDITION; and bring to sufficient PUNISHMENT ALL PERSONS ADVOCATING THE SAME. And to prevent calamity and preserve peace over the whole union, Congress is requested to immediate action, to SECURE OUR COMMON WELFARE." I candidly confess, that in my opinion, if Congress may constitutionally abolish slavery in the states for the general welfare, it may also for the same purpose, grant the prayer of the Zanesville *republicans*. Will it be said, that Congress is restrained by the constitution from impairing the right of petition, the freedom of the press, &c? It is true, and of course, the power of providing for the general welfare is a limited one. But how is it limited? It is limited to the exercise of those powers which have been delegated to Congress, and which are specified in the constitution, and by the 10th amendment, *the powers not delegated are reserved to the states*. It might promote the general welfare, for Congress to have power to suppress the retail traffic in ardent spirits, to prohibit theatrical amusements, to establish common schools, &c. &c.; but such power not having been delegated, is by the very terms of the Constitution reserved to the states, and any attempt by Congress to exercise such a power would be a wicked usurpation. If this reasoning be correct, Congress can no more revoke the act of the Legislature of South Carolina, authorizing slavery, than it can the act of the Legislature of New York authorizing certain persons to sell ardent spirits.

Again it is said, although by the constitution Congress is not empowered to abolish slavery, yet the "*war power*" of Congress is illimitable, and under this power, slavery may be abolished. Congress can possess neither a war power, nor a peace power, beyond the constitution. It has no power that it has not received. The power to provide for the common defence, is limited in precisely the same manner as the power to provide for the general welfare, that is, to the exercise of *delegated* powers. It is supposed by some gentlemen, that Congress in virtue of what they are pleased to call "*the war power*" may give the slaves their liberty, in order to strengthen the means of defence against an enemy. If so, Congress may annex Texas to the Union, as a barrier against an invasion from Mexico: or sell our churches and school houses to raise funds to pay their forces; or disband state legislatures to concentrate legislative action in the hour of peril; or silence abolitionists, to promote unanimity! That it is true in military operations many arbitrary acts are frequently perpetrated, but they are done *against* law, and are justified on the plea that necessity knows no law. But even this plea could not justify Congress in giving liberty to the slaves. If it be a supposable case, that the protection of Georgia from an invading enemy required the immediate emancipation of her slaves, that they might unite with the whites in defending her soil, her own Legis-

lature, and not Congress, would be the proper authority to judge of the emergency, and the expediency of the remedy.

I yield to none in my abhorrence of slavery, and desire for its abolition, but I fervently hope I may never be led by an erring zeal to act on the maxim, that the end sanctifies the means, or to do evil that good may come. It is said that by striking out the admission in the Constitution, we perform merely a *negative* act. The assertion is incorrect. The motion to expunge, is made expressly on the ground that the present admission is false; and we are told by the mover, not merely that Congress has the power to abolish slavery in the state, but that it is our duty to petition for the exercise of this power. The motion therefore is made preparatory to *action*, and we are urged to enter upon a path which if pursued, must inevitably terminate in DISUNION AND IN BLOOD. We have called heaven and earth to witness, in the midst of our persecution, that the charges made against us of wishing to effect the abolition of slavery in the states by national legislation, and by insurrection, were false. Now we are asked to nullify all our pledges, and all our details as to the first charge. How soon we may be asked to expunge from our constitution, our pledge, never to "countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force," time alone can reveal. It may not be useless to recall to mind, the assurances we have heretofore given to the public, respecting the constitutional power of Congress, that we may more readily estimate the stupendous breach of faith involved in the resolution before us.

In Dec. 1833, sixty four delegates from ten states, assembled in convention at Philadelphia, and there organized the American Anti-slavery Society. They issued a DECLARATION of their principles and objects, in which they say, "we fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each state to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery which is tolerated within its limits." They moreover inserted in the constitution which they formed for the American Anti-slavery Society, the admission we are now asked to expunge, that "each state in which slavery exists, has by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said states." In 1834, this society went into operation, and was most violently assailed. Mr. William Goodell published a very able vindication of its views, in which he remarks, "The Constitution (of the U. S.) leaves the business of abolishing slavery in the different states to the state governments—and puts it out of the power of the people of the U. S. to remove slavery by a direct legislation." Of this vindication, the society published 15,000 copies, besides inserting it in its official paper. About the same time, Mr. Garrison, than whom no man can be supposed to be more accurately informed of the sentiments of abolitionists, or more justly entitled to speak as their representative, used the following strong language in the *Liberator*. "Abolitionists as clearly understand and as sacredly regard the constitutional powers of Congress as do their *fraducers*; and they know and have again and again asserted, that Congress has no more rightful authority to sit in judgment upon southern slavery, than it has to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the French Colonies."

In 1835, the Massachusetts society sent forth an address to the public, under the signatures of no less than thirty-one of their officers and members; in which they declare, "We fully acknowledge that no change in the slave laws of the southern states can be made unless by the southern legislatures. Neither Congress, nor the legislatures of the free states, have authority to change the condition of a single slave in the United States." Not only did Mr. Garrison sign this address, but as editor of the *Liberator* he appealed to his fellow citizens in the following solemn terms, "As in the immediate presence of God, we solemnly declare that the allegations which are brought against us to our condemnation, by the the presses of this and other cities, are utterly groundless—we have never believed or asserted that Congress is constitutionally empowered either to modify or abolish slavery in any slaveholding state, but have always maintained that each state is independent and sovereign in this matter."

Subsequently the officers of the American Anti-slavery Society found it necessary, in order to repel the slanders of our assailants, to put forth under their own signatures a statement of the principles held by the abolitionists. They say, "We hold that Congress has no more power to abolish slavery in the southern states, than in the French West India Islands—of course we desire no national legislation on the subject." Yet are these men asked to break their plighted faith with the public, and expose themselves to derision and contempt by voting for an alteration of our constitution, in order that we may with some little show of consistency, demand "national legislation on the subject." I have examined the official documents of the state societies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and by all of them is the exclusive right of the states to legislation on the subject of slavery expressly acknowledged; nor has it to my knowledge been denied by one of the 1300 anti-slavery societies in the United States. Yet without cause, without any light or information which we had not from the beginning of our enterprise, we are told by the mover of the resolution before us that we "are to do *but one thing*, which is to petition Congress to abolish slavery in every state and territory in the Union!"

Let us inquire what would be the consequences to our country and to the anti-slavery cause of following this advice.

We will suppose, that the agitation we are now urged to commence on this point will be successful, and that members of Congress from the North will be persuaded to pass a general abolition law. Is there a sane person in this assembly, who does not in his heart believe that such a law, instead of breaking the fetters of the slave, would instantly dissolve the bands of this Union? The south would not and ought not to submit to a usurpation so flagrant and profligate. But if we can suppose the North capable of such an act, we must also suppose her prepared to enforce it at the point of the bayonet. A civil war ensues—the moral means heretofore used by abolitionists give place to the confused noise of the warrior, and to garments rolled in blood; servile insurrection necessarily follows in the train of civil war, and if slavery perish, it will perish only in a deluge of BLOOD; and then will abolitionists, instead of rejoicing in the triumph of christian principles and anticipating the blessed salutation "well done, good and faithful servant, await with fear

and trembling "the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God."

But there is I trust too much common sense, if not too much christianity in our country, ever to permit Congress to listen to our petitions for such an enormous violation of the constitution. Let us then contemplate the necessary effect of the failure of our attempt upon the anti-slavery cause. The consistency of our conduct and the uprightness of our principles are rapidly acquiring for us the confidence of the community, and are extorting from our enemies a concession of the purity of our motives. But in what light will the proposed stupendous breach of faith place us before the public? Our promises not to excite the slaves to insurrection, have not been more explicit and more numerous than our promises not to ask Congress to abolish slavery in the states. If we falsify our pledges in the one instance, what guarantee can we give, that we will not falsify our pledges in the other? Who can trust us—who ought to trust us? I impugn not the *motives* of those who differ from me in opinion, but my obligations as a christian, as a citizen, and even as an abolitionist, forbid my acquiescence in the new course of action which they wish to pursue. In a cause like the one in which we are embarked, union is strength. Can we hope to remain united, after the passage of this resolution? Multitudes of our members, have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States—can they co-operate in measures which they believe have a direct tendency to violate that constitution? Can they join in petitions which they are persuaded Congress cannot grant without incurring the guilt of perjury and of treason? Pass this resolution, and the American Anti-slavery Society is no longer the society it now is, and its members are released from all obligations to it. In the opinion of many of its most devoted friends, it will then become a dangerous and unconstitutional association, seeking the abolition of slavery, not by appeals to the consciences and understandings of the slaveholders; but by appeals to the selfishness and popularity of politicians, and substituting the usurped power of Congress for the peaceful influence of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It cannot, it ought not to be expected that those who may regard their continued connection with the society as sinful, will merely from their abhorrence to slavery, remain in its ranks. Separation must ensue—the moral sense of the nation will be arrayed against the society—its influence will vanish—the captivity of the slave will be protracted, and a new and mournful illustration will be given to the world of those great but too often neglected truths, that honesty is the best policy, and that what is morally wrong, can never be politically right.

COLONIZATION INTELLIGENCE.

BALTIMORE, MAY 3, 1838.

SAILING OF THE SCHOONER COLUMBIA.—We have just returned from witnessing the embarkation of thirty-six emigrants on board the schooner Columbia, Captain Franklin, bound for Palmas. This makes the tenth vessel sent out to their Colony by the Maryland Colonization Society. A large assembly of persons who

met together to witness the interesting exercises which followed, crowded the wharves and piers, and listened with deep attention to the addresses of the several speakers.

The morning was one of unclouded brightness and beauty, an earnest, we hope, of a pleasant voyage for the vessel and her interesting company.

The assembly was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Keppler of the Protestant Episcopal church, and the Rev. Messrs. Edwards and Greenbank, of the Methodist Episcopal church. We have no doubt but the substance of these addresses will be long remembered by the emigrants when they are citizens of another continent.

The President of the Society, and the Corresponding Secretary, Agents, and Board of Managers, united in this last act of their personal sympathy for them.

The scene has passed away, the vessel is calmly pursuing her onward voyage, and we are left to ponder in sober thought on the magnificent results to unborn millions which must follow these silent and systematic movements of one of the mightiest moral and political engines ever put in motion. The single vessel which succeeds in landing in Africa, a company of emigrants, carrying with them the knowledge and love of God, with the habits of civilized life, placed on a soil which requires nothing but the labor and enterprise of educated minds, fostered by the wholesome provisions of an equitable government, who can venture to predict the untold benefits which may arise from such a combination of elements?—*Colonization Journal*.

CAPE PALMAS PACKET.—At a meeting of the Board of Managers just before the sailing of the schooner *Columbia*, the subject of buying or building a vessel of two hundred tons burden was fully discussed. When it was resolved unanimously to provide the necessary funds without delay, several considerations appeared to render the measure expedient. 1st. The increasing demand for freight and passage to the various settlements on the coast of Africa. 2d. The importance of getting more direct and speedy returns from the Colonies than by the present system. 3d. The facilities which would be thus afforded to the missionaries and Colonists in Africa, to visit the United States, to see their friends, or promote friendly and frequent intercourse: and 4th. To obtain direct return cargoes made ready by the agents in Africa for the periodical visits of the packet. These, with many other reasons, satisfied the Board that steps should be promptly adopted to obtain such a vessel as the trade demands.

The Board have selected an able Committee to carry their plan into immediate operation, and our citizens will be visited as soon as practicable and their contributions solicited to raise the sum of five thousand dollars. The vessel is to be fitted expressly for carrying out passengers and freight to the Colonies. The cabin will be large, light, and airy: the steerage arranged to carry the emigrants with the greatest comfort and convenience. She will be prepared with great care in reference to fast sailing, this being a most desirable quality in a vessel destined for the African coast.

May we appeal to our friends far and near to help us in this time of need. A great effort must be made to carry this plan into effect, that the Board may send out their fall expedition in their own vessel.—*Ib*.

The late meetings in favor of Colonization in New York and Philadelphia furnish the most encouraging evidence of the popularity of the scheme. With one feature connected with them we are particularly pleased. The gentlemen who advocated the cause were of the first talents and influence of our country, showing most conclusively that the good sense and sober judgment of the community are on our side; our own anniversary was particularly favored in this respect. The talents and influence of the gentlemen who kindly gave their services are first rate. They are in every respect the able representatives of the people, and we believe uttered their sentiments. The speech of the Rev. Robert J. Breckenridge made at the meeting, and published in this number of the journal, is one of peculiar power and eloquence even beyond his ablest efforts on other occasions; parts of it will bear a dozen readings without diminishing the interest.

We hail with pleasure the Rev. Joel Parker of New Orleans as another powerful auxiliary to the interest of the cause at the South. There is no better man living than Mr. Parker, and we know of none whose whole course has been more discreet or successful in whatever he has undertaken.

In view of these facts with many others well known to the community, we ask, are we not going ahead?—*Ib*.

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